

Message Text

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S E C R E T VIENNA 2196

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NOFORN

FROM US MBFR REP

E. O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: 18 MARCH DISCUSSION WITH SOVIET REP ON HUNGARIAN ISSUE

REF: VIENNA 2132

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. US REP HAD FURTHER DISCUSSION WITH SOVIET REP KVITSINSKIY ON MARCH 18 AT LATTER' S REQUEST. KVITSINSKIY BACKED AWAY SOMEWHAT FROM THE POSITION HE HAD TAKEN DURING LAST CONVERSATION TO ENVISAGE UNILATERAL WESTERN STATEMENT ON HUNGARY IN AGREED TEXT. HE SAID IT COULD BE DIFFICULT FOR THE EAST TO ACCEPT SUCH AN UNCHALLENGED UNILATERAL WESTERN STATEMENT CONCERNING HUNGARY AND SUGGESTED AN EXCHANGE OF UNILATERAL STATEMENTS IN THE FIRST PLENARY SESSION. US REP SAID THAT IF THE SOVIETS WERE NOT ABLE TO FIND AN EVEN- HANDED SOLUTION IN THIS WAY, THEN THEY SHOULD SEEK OTHER POSSIBILITIES. END SUMMARY.

2. IN THE CONVERSATION WITH THE US REP ON 18 MARCH ON THE HUNGARIAN ISSUE, AT KVITSINSKIY' S REQUEST, KVITSINSKIY ASSERTED THAT HE WAS HAVING DIFFICULTIES WITH HIS COLLEAGUES KHLESTOV AND ZIMERBAYEV OVER THE POSSIBILITY OF INCLUDING A SINGLE UNCONTESTED UNILATERAL
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ALLIED STATEMENT ON THE STATUS OF HUNGARY IN THE PROCEDURES PAPER. KVITSINSKIY CLAIMED THAT KHLESTOV AND TIMERBAYEV WERE AFRAID THAT THE SOVIET DELEGATION WOULD BE DISAVOWED IF IT PUT BACK TO MOSCOW A SOLUTION OF THIS KIND EVEN IF PRESENTED AS THE OUTCOME OF A TENTATIVE AGREEMENT WITH THE ALLIES RATHER THAN AS A PROPOSAL OF ITS OWN. HE SAID THE PEOPLE IN MOSCOW WERE "VERY ROUGH WITH FREE THINKERS."

3. KVITSINSKIY WONDERED WHETHER IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO HAVE A UNILATERAL STATEMENT FROM THE HUNGARIANS IN ADDITION TO AN ALLIED UNILATERAL STATEMENT. US REP SAID THAT THIS POSSIBILITY HAD BEEN MENTIONED IN THE PREVIOUS DISCUSSION AND THAT THE ISSUE AT PRESENT WAS NOT WHO MADE THE STATEMENT BUT WHAT WAS CONTAINED IN IT. HE WOULD NOT WANT TO AUTOMATICALLY PRECLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF A STATEMENT BY THE HUNGARIANS. KVITSINSKIY THEN SAID THAT HE DID NOT THINK HE WOULD BE ABLE TO GET AGREEMENT OF THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES TO INCLUDING EITHER ONE OR TWO UNILATERAL STATEMENTS IN THE ACTUAL TEXT OF THE PROCEDURES PAPER. WOULD IT NOT BE POSSIBLE INSTEAD TO HAVE THEM MADE IN THE FORM OF UNILATERAL STATEMENTS AT THE FIRST PLENARY MEETING, DISTRIBUTED BY THE ORIGINATORS ON THAT OCCASION AND INCLUDED AT THE END OF A NEW, REVISED PROCEDURES PAPER AS COMMENTS MADE ON THE OCCASION OF THE FIRST PLENARY?

4. US REP SAID THAT SOVIET APPETITE FOR CONCESSIONS SEEMED UNCONTROLLABLE. THE IMPORTANT THING WAS TO SEEK A SOLUTION WHICH COULD BE ACCEPTED BY ALL. IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT A COMPLETE DOCUMENT WHICH CONTAINED ALL OF THE ASPECTS OF THE HUNGARIAN ISSUE WOULD BE MORE SATISFACTORY TO ALL THAN A TWO-STAGE PROCEDURE OF THE TYPE KVITSINSKIY HAD JUST PROPOSED. MOREOVER, THE QUALITY OF UNILATERAL STATEMENTS WOULD BE DIFFERENT IF THEY WERE CONTAINED IN THE ORIGINAL AGREED VERSION OF THE PROCEDURES PAPER THAN IF THEY WERE APPENDED TO IT AFTER THE FIRST PLENARY SESSION. IT WAS UP TO THE SOVIETS TO FIND SOME OTHER COMPROMISE IF THEY WERE UNABLE TO ACCEPT THE ONE WHICH KVITSINSKIY HAD FIRST SKETCHED OUT, ALTHOUGH OF COURSE HE DID NOT WISH TO FAULT KVITSINSKIY FOR MAKING THE EFFORT ORIGINALLY.

5. US REP ASKED KVITSINSKIY, IN VIEW OF THE LATTER'S
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RETREAT FROM THE KAPITONOV PROPOSAL ABOUT LIMITING

THE INCREASE OF FORCES IN HUNGARY AND ITALY, WHETHER
THE SOVIETS WISHED TO HAVE A PARAGRAPH IN AN AGREED

PROCEDURES PAPER MAKING REFERENCE TO SECURITY ISSUES
AS TIMERBAYEV HAD PROPOSED IN THE LAST SESSION WITH
THE NETHERLANDS AND US REPS. KVITSINSKIY SAID HE DID
NOT FAVOR INCLUSION OF SPECIFIC TREATMENT OF SECURITY
ISSUES EITHER IN A GENERAL STATEMENT OR IN A UNI-
LATERAL ALLIED STATEMENT, BUT HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE
USEFUL IF A POSSIBLE HUNGARIAN UNILATERAL STATEMENT
COULD CONTAIN SUCH A REFERENCE. US REP SAID THIS WOULD
BE INEQUITABLE.

6. KVITSINSKIY SAID HE HAD RECEIVED INDICATIONS FROM
MOSCOW THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD PREFER TO ORGANIZE THE
CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE PRESENT TALKS THROUGH DRAWING LOTS
RATHER THAN ABIDING BY THE ORIGINAL PROPOSAL MADE BY
TIMERBAYEV TO START WITH THE USSR, AND CONTINUE WITH
THE UK, USA AND BELGIUM. MOSCOW DID NOT LIKE THE IDEA
OF A CONTINUOUS STRETCH OF ALLIED CHAIRMAN FOLLOWING
THE USSR. US REP ASKED KVITSINSKIY WHETHER THE SOVIETS
WOULD ACCEPT A CHAIRMANSHIP ROTATING ONLY AMONG DIRECT
PARTICIPANTS. KVITSINSKIY INDICATED THAT THE SOVIETS
THEMSELVES MIGHT NOT FEEL VERY STRONGLY ON THIS ISSUE,
BUT THEY BELIEVED THAT THEY MIGHT HAVE CONSIDERABLE
DIFFICULTY WITH THE ROMANIANS ON THIS POINT. US REP
EXPRESSED SCEPTICISM AS TO THIS.

7. KVITSINSKIY AGAIN RAISED WHAT HE CALLED THE RE-
LUCTANT ATTITUDE OF SOME US ALLIES TOWARD THE MBFR
PROJECT. HE SAID THE ALLIES SEEM TO HAVE SOMETHING
PARTICULAR THAT THEY WERE ANGRY ABOUT WITH THE US
ON THIS PROJECT. WHAT WAS IT? US REP SAID SOVIETS
SHOULD NOT BE OVERLY IMPRESSED BY INFORMAL STATEMENTS
BY INDIVIDUAL ALLIED REPS. WHEN THE TIME CAME FOR
NEGOTIATIONS, THERE WOULD BE A SERIOUS AND UNIFIED
ALLIED NEGOTIATING POSITION, AND KVITSINSKIY MIGHT BE
COMPLAINING ABOUT TOO MUCH ALLIED UNITY AT THAT TIME.

8. AS MATTER OF GENERAL INTEREST, KVITSINSKIY SAID SOVIET WORK
ON MBFR NEGOTIATIONS WAS CARRIED OUT BY A COMMITTEE HEADED BY THE
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INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND DISARMAMENT STAFF OF THE
SOVIET MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS WHICH INCLUDED
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SOVIET GENERAL STAFF AS WELL
AS OF OTHER INTERESTED SECTIONS OF THE MINISTRY OF
FOREIGN AFFAIRS. HUMES

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